SOME SOLUTIONS: OR THINGS TO DO

Sundiata Acoli

Build to Win the War for Independence and Socialism

originally published in *Sunviews*, 1983

https://archive.org/details/sunviews

with whatever weapons at hand

"His love for Black people is so intense that you can almost touch it and hold it in your hand."

— Assata Shakur

Sundiata Acoli was born in 1937 in Vernon, Texas, a small town below the Panhandle, where he grew up, went to Booker T. Washington High School, did agricultural work, hunted, fished, played sports, and did all the other things kids do while growing up. Upon graduation he went to Prairie View A & M College at Prairie View, Texas. He graduated in 1956 with a BS in Mathematics. After unsuccessfully looking for work in New York City, he took a job as a mathematician /computer programmer for NASA at Edwards Air Force base in California. Three years later Sundiata returned to New York where he worked with computers for the next 13 years.

The 1960s were a time of intense ferment and change, particularly among Black people. The civil rights movement and later the movement for Black liberation and power instilled a sense of new possibilities and transformation, as Black people en masse challenged the power structure.

Sundiata was an integral part of that process. He first became politically active in the summer of 1964, doing voter registration work Mississippi with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. He was not a member of SNCC or any other organization. He was simply a computer programmer in New York City who read about the murder of three civil rights workers. The article implied that the murders would deter volunteers from going south to register voters and it listed the Conference of Federated Organizations (COFO) in New York City as the coordinator of the volunteer project. Sundiata called COFO and volunteered. They said yes, if he paid his own fare to Mississippi. Sundiata bought an airline ticket and flew down. In the fall, he returned to his mathematician/computer career but felt that:

"I couldn't be proud of survival under the system in America, because too many of my brothers and sisters hadn't survived. ... I was aware of the subtle pressures working to force upon me the acceptance of white values, to give up more and more of being Black. ... I loved being Black—the Black mentality, mores, habits and associations. I looked around for an organization that was dedicated to alleviating the suffering of Black people."

In 1968, Sundiata joined the Black Panther Party (BPP) chapter in Harlem. The BPP was one of the most important political organizations of the 1960s. It particularly captured the imagination and energy of young Black people and mushroomed into chapters in many cities. The BPP supported community programs such as community control of schools, tenant control of slum housing, free breakfast programs for school children, free health care, day care, and legal clinics, political education classes for the community, and publication of a weekly national newspaper. Perhaps most notably, the BPP also fought against rampant police brutality in the Black community and was committed to armed self-defense.

The Black Panther Party's enormous popularity was matched by an enormous hatred of the BPP by the United States government, which launched a major political/military offensive to destroy it as well as other Black organizations. The ultimate goal was to destroy the Black liberation Movement. To this end, the FBI, along with local police departments, unleashed what was later revealed to be the Counter Intelligence Program, otherwise known as COINTELPRO. Panther headquarters around the country were militarily assaulted by local and federal police forces. False rumors and divisions were propagated that caused internal squabbling in the Black movement. COINTELPRO also left scores of Black revolutionaries dead and many others imprisoned. For example, in 1969 alone, 28 Panthers, including Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, were murdered and 749 others were arrested and or imprisoned.

Sundiata was one of those arrested. As he has written:

"On April 2, 1969, I was arrested to stand trial in the Panther 21 case. Twenty-one of us were accused of conspiring to carry out a ridiculous plot to blow up a number of New York department stores and the New York Botanical Gardens. Although the legal process took two years and the trial lasted eight months—the longest criminal prosecution in New York history—the jurors took only 56 minutes to acquit all the defendants of every charge. Police agents appearing at the Panther 21 trial had also attended some group political education classes held at my apartment.

Although an ad hoc organization of my fellow workers named "Computer People for Peace" had raised and posted ball for me during the Panther 21 trial, and although several other defendants had been released on bail, the judge refused to let me out on bail. I had to do the entire two years on trial in jail until released on acquittal. I endured 2 years of political internment."

After Sundiata was released, he was constantly followed and harassed by the FBI and local police forces. He finally decided that he could not be effective in the pursuit of Black liberation under these conditions, and so he went underground. On May 2, 1973, Sundiata, Assata Shakur, and Zayd Malik Shakur were ambushed by state troopers on the New Jersey Turnpike. The incident that ensued resulted in the murder of Zayd as well as the serious wounding of Assata. Trooper Werner Foerster was also killed by bullets of a state trooper's gun. Sundiata managed somehow to elude arrest en that day. However, police launched a two-day massive search of the surrounding area:

"When i was arrested, police immediately cut my pants off me so that I only wore shorts. Whooping and hollering, a gang of New Jersey state troopers dragged me through the woods, through water puddles, and hit me over the head with the barrel of their shotgun. They only cooled out somewhat when they noticed that all the commotion had caused a crowd to gather at the edge of the road, observing their actions."

that, can win if they are determined to win. Otherwise, the weak could never beat the strong—or the few beat the many. There would be no Davids, only Goliaths; no Cubas, Viet Nams, Mozambiques, Angolas, Zimbabwes, Nicaraguas or Grenadas … only U.S. imperialism. Most of these countries had some help, but all started alone. Alone, with only a few and facing great odds, yet they struck the first blow for their freedom, determined to win or die. For an oppressed nation, fighting to win also means fighting with the determination to win or die.

When a people fight with that determination, they discover that the enemy can die, too. They learn that the enemy is no cabbage—that is, all head and no buttocks. Just as he can hurt us, we can also hurt him. He can strike in our community; we can strike in his; he at our food; we at his food; … our water, his water …. and so on. We have no factories; he does. We have no oil wells; he does. No railroads, no power plants …. he does. He has more to strike with initially, but he also has more for us to strike at, and so to speak, more to lose. And so it goes, back and forth, round and round, in wider and wider circles until it engulfs the whole country and probably beyond.

People's War is a gradual, intentionally drawn out, dragged-on war to prevent it from rapidly escalating beyond the point of sustainability—and to give the people time to learn war, to build strength, determination and to grow—and to wear the enemy down bit by bit until the balance finally changes in our favor to bring about his total destruction or capitulation to our demands for Independence, Land, Autonomous Districts and Socialism. Whichever comes first, our duty remains to build a truly liberated Black society and to support and wage world revolution until all people everywhere are free.

Build to Win the War for Independence and Socialism

Marion Penitentiary, IL — 10/10/80

Moving the Black Masses towards People's War for Independence, Land, Autonomous Districts and Socialist Revolution

A people can learn war through making war. People's war is the war of the weak against the strong—of the few against the many. It is a protracted war in which a people learn to make war using their own resources by turning the enemy's resources into their own supply depot—and eventually with a little help from their allies.

The fundamental tactic for moving the Black masses toward People's War is: create victories for them in their day-to-day struggles. The masses learn, gain confidence and duplicate tactics when they see that it works and brings victory. The primary task of moving the Black masses toward People's War falls on the NBLF. The best means for it to do this is to focus the Black masses, our strongest weapon, on the weakest link in each engagement and at each stage. Then at the proper time, strike with politico-military impact to create a victory for the masses. Victories are what galvanize the masses, build their confidence and spur them on to greater heights. Defeats will occur, too, but defeat is no stranger to Black people or to any oppressed people. Victory is the stranger. Once the Black masses learn the means by which to bring victories to their day-to-day struggles, People's War will spread through the Black Nation like wildfire.

Fighting to Win

We already know what strategy the enemy will use: "Divide and Conquer!" He'll try to divide us from ourselves, from other domestic forces and from international forces. To win, we must do just the opposite of what the enemy desires. Fighting to win, in the first sense, means we must divide the enemy while uniting our own forces. That means we unite Blacks on independence; we unite with the Native American struggle to regain their land and sovereignty; we unite with the Chicano/Mexicanos struggle for national liberation and regaining of their land in the Southwest; we unite with the Puerto Rican struggle for independence and socialism in Puerto Rico; we unite with the Asian-American struggle for domestic and human rights; we unite against oppression of minority nationalities; we unite with the oppressed White classes on progressive goals and with revolutionary Whites on socialist revolution in the U.S.; and we unite with progressive international countries, movements and organizations on common goals. That, in itself, will divide the enemy, yet we must divide him further while uniting our forces further at every stage. Victory is dependent on our doing just that.

The other factor required to win is determination. Even a people alone, if it comes to

Sundiata was tried in an environment of mass hysteria and convicted, although there was no credible evidence he had killed the trooper or even been involved in the shooting. At sentencing the judge stated that Sundiata was an avowed revolutionary and sentenced him to life and to 30 more years, to be served consecutively!

Since his incarceration, Sundiata has been subjected to all the worst that U.S. prisons have to offer, and that is saying a lot. During his pre-trial detention he was denied all medical care, was kept in isolation the entire time, was permitted no visits from family, friends, or anyone except his attorney; and was not permitted to receive or read any newspapers. A light was kept on in his cell 24 hours per day, he was fed very sparse meals, and state troopers were allowed to come into the jail and threaten him.

After sentencing he was transferred to Trenton State Prison (TSP), New Jersey, which was built before the Civil War in 1835, and had been condemned for years as uninhabitable. Shortly after his arrival the warden visited San Quentin Prison in California to study its maximum security wing, called MCU (Management Control Unit) or "0" Wing. He returned to Trenton and copied the exact setup, including the name MCU, and instituted it at Trenton State Prison. Overnight they rounded up 250 prisoners and put them in this instantly erected MCU. Sundiata was the first prisoner they rounded up. Within a month they had released the prisoners back into population except for about 50, including Sundiata. These 50 were accused of being "politically oriented."

After many stays in the "doghouse," contracting tuberculosis, and constant battling with prison officials, Sundiata, a state prisoner, was transferred to the United States Penitentiary at Marion, which is a federal prison. Marion, considered to be the worst prison in the U.S., has been condemned by Amnesty International for violating the United Nations' Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. Marion is located over a thousand miles from Sundiata's home, and is supposedly reserved for prisoners who commit violent acts while in prison. (Sundiata had no such charges pending while at Trenton.) Most prisoners at Marion are locked down for 22-23 hours per day, subjected to many degrading practices such as anal finger probes and being shackled spread eagle to their bed blocks. Drinking water at Marion Penitentiary is drawn from a federally-designated emergency toxic waste dump clean-up site, and many prisoners suffer unexplained skin rashes and benign tumors.

At Marion Sundiata was immediately put on controlled visit status (restricted to non-contact visits where prisoners spoke over the telephone while sitting in a small booth) as punishment for being the co-defendant of Assata Shakur, who had just escaped (in 1979) from the Clinton, New Jersey Women's Prison. Sundiata remained on control visit status during his entire eight years at Marion, and was usually the only prisoner classified as such.

Sundiata writes:

"I was permitted visits with immediate family and attorneys only, with no friends or associates allowed. Because of the great distance and costs, these visits were possible only every one to three years. Prison officials constantly berated my children and threatened to cut off their visiting privilege for playing (i.e., not sitting still in the visiting booth). They once declared a baby blanket a non-permitted item, and took it out from under my daughter's infant sister who was sleeping on the floor, causing the child and mother to cry. Only 24 total hours of visiting were permitted each month. Once my mother traveled 2000 miles to visit me, unaware that I had already used 16 visiting hours that month. Prison officials rudely cut off her visit after only 8 hours, causing my mother to cry. In another instance, legal aide Anne Else traveled 550 miles to visit me. The FBI and Marion staff eavesdropped on our meeting until they were inadvertently discovered in the act by another prisoner, Leonard Peltier. The FBI then interrupted my visit and called Anne Else to the front office, where they attempted to interrogate, terrorize and intimidate her into not filing a lawsuit against them."

After eight years, in large part due to demonstrations at Marion and substantial national pressure to end the lockdown, Sundiata was transferred to Leavenworth. There he completed a computer course, paralegal studies, and a real estate course, all with honors.

In the fall of 1992, Sundiata was awarded the return of all his good time and became immediately eligible for parole.

Sundiata was not permitted to attend his own parole hearing. He was forced to participate via telephone. Despite an excellent prison work and academic record; despite the fact that Sundiata has never committed or even been charged with violence during his entire time in prison; despite a very positive report from the prison psychiatrist; despite numerous job offers in the computer profession; despite thousands of letters on his behalf; nonetheless, Sundiata was denied parole. Not only was parole denied but Sundiata was given a 20 year hit. This means that he must do more than 12 years before coming up for parole again. This was the longest hit in New Jersey history and was rendered at the conclusion of a 20 minute hearing via telephone!

In April of 1994 Sundiata was transferred to USP Allenwood in Pennsylvania, which is the maximum security prison complex for the East Coast.

Their stated reasons for the 20 year hit were their concern for Sundiata's membership in the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army prior to his arrest, concern that they had received hundreds of "Free Sundiata" form letters that characterized him as a New Afrikan P.O.W. who had contributed to the theory and practice of the New Afrikan Independence Movement, that the punitive aspects of his sentence had not been satisfied, rehabilitation had not been sufficiently achieved, he had not changed appreciably during his incarceration and was in need of extensive counseling therapy with a professional psychologist to address his antisocial behavior such that he would live a peaceful and law abiding existence within the existing governmental structure of the US.

strikes and political campaigns toward winning international support. Sponsor fundraising and speaking tours in the U.S. for international representatives. Work toward the formation of an Afrikan International for the liberation of Afrikans at home and abroad and for the total unification of the Afrikan continent under scientific socialism. Concretely support true Socialist Internationals.

Tactics for the Provisional Government are: seek a U.N. floor vote affirming that Blacks in the U.S. are indeed a colonized nation and that the NBLF has all the rights accorded movements in other colonized nations to wage a wer of national liberation against colonial domination and racist regimes—and that captured freedom fighters are not common criminals but P.O.W.'s as defined in the Geneva Convention articles. Request a U.N. supervised nationwide plebiscite held throughout the Black colony on the issue of independence, reparations and affirmation of the Black Provisional Government as the legitimate representative of the Black Nation. Other tactics for the Provisional - Government are: send delegates to international conventions to lobby for support of the NBLF and Black independence, give early recognition to new progressive Afrikan, Caribbean, Third World and Socialist governments, form relations with them and negotiate for the release of Black Army P.O.W.'s in exchange for repatriation of captured U.S. spies and agents.

Mass Organizations should engage in mass demonstrations and strikes to gain international support for the NBLF and Black independence. Create mass drives to collect medicines, finance and equipment to support progressive struggles in Afrika, Caribbean, Third World and Europe.

The National Black Liberation Front should seek secret communication channels with international forces to open dialogue on international cooperation in political and military campaigns and in the areas of armaments, rear areas, training centers, interchange of personnel and logistics.

Tactics for the Black Army in gaining international support for the NBLF and Black independence are: the initiation of reciprocating military campaigns against selected giant multi-national corporations headquartered in the U.S., similar campaigns against reactionary foreign regimes with personnel and installations in the U.S., and military actions against foreign tyrants who flee to the U.S. for asylum.

as the primary strategy for gaining Black independence. Unifying factors for the formation of the NBLF are: all those actually fighting, those with identical interest in armed struggle as the primary strategy, those with identical working class interests and those with identical interest in forming a unified organization with a single command center under the direction of politico-military leadership that is technically capable to direct the struggle. The resulting fusion is a National Black Liberation Front capable of assuming leadership of the Black independence movement. Its duty at this stage is to direct and coordinate the military, political and mass struggle and its alliances with other domestic forces to create victories in the contested areas. It also works with other domestic forces toward the development of a Multi-National Liberation Front for Independence and Socialism in the U.S.

Winning International Support for Black Independence

U.S. imperialism oppresses many foreign nations and threatens the security of other progressive countries and movements. All these countries and movements have a natural interest in contributing to the destruction of the system of U.S. imperialism. Independence for domestic oppressed nations and socialist revolution throughout the U.S. will surely destroy U.S. imperialism—and many foreign countries and movements are inclined to Support such a domestic movement.

The fundamental tactic for winning international support for Black independence is: we speak with one voice, or with as much unity as possible, demonstrate our determination to fight against U.S. imperialism (as opposed to "integrating" with it) and ask for concrete international support for our struggle. Foreign countries, movements and international organizations (i.e., Organization of African Unity, United Nations, Non-Aligned Movement, Arab League, Socialist Internationals, etc.) always seek to determine whether a particular movement has the support of its people or not before aiding it. We must wage resolute mass demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, political and military campaigns to demonstrate that we represent the will of the masses of Black people and that we want independence.

Again the best tactic for receiving support is to give concrete support to those countries and movements that wage anti-imperialist struggle. We must wage struggle campaigns in support of and in solidarity with their struggles.

Tactics for the NBUF and Political Parties are: form open communications and links with progressive Afrikan, Carribbean, Third World and Socialist nations, movements and international organizations and initiate dialogue around concrete reciprocal support for the NBLF and Black independence. Organize mass demonstrations,

The real reason for the 20 year hit is to continue the 20 year cover-up of what really happened on the Turnpike that night. This is why the Parole Board would not permit Sundiata to return to New Jersey to appear before them in person.

Assata Shakur was one of the key targets of COINTELPRO. She was called the "Soul of the Black Liberation Army" by the government. After spending 6 years in prison, Assata Shakur escaped in 1979. In her autobiography, written from her new home in Cuba, Assata describes Sundiata's character:

"There is something about Sundiata that exudes calm. From every part of his being you can sense the presence of revolutionary spirit and fervor. And his love for Black people is so intense that you can almost touch it and hold it in your hand."

Sundiata is a true hero. He has been an unceasing fighter for the liberation of Black people and for this he has been made to spend the last 22 years of his life in prison. And if we do not do something about it, the U.S. government will be only too pleased to watch Sundiata die in his cell. Join us in our campaign to ensure Sundiata's freedom.

In 2004, Sundiata came up for parole again. This time NJ officials sent two parole board members to USP Allenwood to conduct Sundiata's parole hearing in person. After two hours the hearing adjourned and the panel members returned to NJ to make a decision. A month or two later they denied Sundiata parole and gave him a 10-year hit. Sundiata must do six more years before coming up for parole again in 2010.

The New Jersey State Parole Board denied parole to Sundiata in 2011 and issued a Future Eligibility Term (FET) of 120 months or 10 years. In 2014, the appellate division unanimously reversed that decision. In 2016, the Board said it had not conducted a testimonial hearing before judicial review. A hearing was held, and the Board denied parole for near-identical reasons as the 2011 denial. In 2019, the New Jersey Supreme Court reversed the 2014 reversal, upholding the denial of parole. At the end of 2020, an Appellate Brief was filed on Sundiata's behalf in support of his appeal as of right to the New Jersey Supreme Court. It is based on the opinion of the Hon. Garry S. Rothstadt, J.A.D., who dissented from the Court's 2019 decision. Judge Rothstadt dissented on the ground that there was no evidence to support the continued denial of parole.

New Jersey law states that a defendant who committed a crime before August 1997 be paroled unless the panel determines that the defendant poses a risk to public safety or presents a substantial risk of recidivism and therefore cannot be eligible for parole. The burden of proof rests with the state to provide evidence of that substantial risk. The New Jersey Supreme Court decided 3-2 in favor of Sundiata's appeal on May 10, 2022, and ordered him to be released on parole!

OVERVIEW

After more than a year of writing monthly book reviews for the Burning Spear newspaper, Sundiata felt it was time to wind up the column. Around this time, Althea Watson of Plainfield, N.J. wrote the readers column of the Burning Spear and asked Sundiata for "some solutions—or things to do for those not ready for guerrilla activities." Sundiata replied that he would write a brief series to that effect, then close out his column in the newspaper. The resulting series sought to pull out the relevant parts of each past book review, tie them together in some coherent fashion so as to provide answers to her question—and also to provide a basic foundation for the theory, strategy and tactics of the Black Independence and Socialism Movement.

After sending his second installment of the series to Burning Spear, and after almost five years of confinement in the MCU Behavior Modification Unit, Sundiata was secretly transferred in the middle of the night to the federal prison system. Shortly afterwards he was rapidly transferred over a thousand miles through a series of federal prisons to the harshest and most maximum security prison in the U.S., the infamous federal koncentration kamp at Marion, Illinois. There he has been allowed no visits from friends or associates and only a rare occasional visit from family through a glass window telephone booth. All mail and other forms of correspondence or contact with the outside world are heavily censored, blocked or sabotaged. He never completed the series in the Burning Spear.

In September, 1980, a year after his transfer, he was contacted by Akbar Muhammad of the Afrikan People's Party (APP) and asked to complete the series so that it could be made into a pamphlet. It was completed shortly afterwards and forwarded to APP. The complete series appears in the following pages.

The fundamental tactic for doing this is: in those areas and institutions where we are the overwhelming majority, organize a consensus for Black control, take control, then stand ready to defend it. We already have numerical majority within the Black ghetto colonies, its schools, housing, hospitals, consumption of its business goods and social services and as workers in factories located therein. The same holds true for some Black Belt South counties and regions.

Tactics for Mass Organizations are: organize the takeovers of colonized institutions existing in our communities. Schools should be taken over through strikes, boycotts and occupations, demanding total control of the school, including budget, building, hiring and firing, course of study, etc. Housing should be taken over through rent strikes and squatters' movements in available housing and livable abandoned buildings. Similar methods should be used to take over or "nationalize" factories, businesses, hospitals and other colonial institutions in Black communities. Once a school, house, factory or other institution is taken over, an appropriate "People's Board," "Tenant Committee" or "Workers' Committee" should be set up to administrate the institution and to organize "self-defense" committees to defend the institution.

Tactics for the Provisional Government, NBUF and Political Parties are: mount a massive campaign to collect petitions in the Black districts of urban centers demanding "autonomy" and "self-rule" for the district. Political Parties should run candidates on a "self-rule" ticket in independent elections to elect a "Provisional People's Government" for the district. After sufficient petitions are collected, they should be presented to City Hall, the Black district should declare itself "autonomous" from the City Hall government and stand ready to defend its independence. Similar procedures should be carried out in the Black majority counties and regions of the Black Belt South.

The Black Army, local military formations and self-defense forces should contest the authority of alien police, sheriffs and military forces to patrol the autonomous Black urban districts or rural regions and commence a systematic campaign to drive them out and FREE THE LAND!

The Black Vanguard should shift top priority to armed struggle and create a National Black Liberation Front (NBLF) for this purpose. This NBLF is made up of those military forces actually carrying out military campaigns, i.e., the Black Army, independent guerrilla groups, self-defense forces and the Black Vanguard, merged with those elements of the National Black United Front, Political Parties, Provisional Government and Mass Organizations that adhere to the principle of armed struggle

our network of independent institutions into a national Black support system.

The fundamental tactic for doing this is by mounting a massive, nationwide educational and organizational campaign, backed up by concrete practice toward this end. These campaigns should stress "self-reliance" and the necessity to restore the sense of "community" that once existed in Black society as personified by the "extended family" concept. When disaster strikes a Black family or community, the remaining Black community should begin practicing self-reliance by also responding to the aid of that family or community. A Black community able to raise and deliver medicines, clothes and equipment to Mozambique can surely deliver the same to Mississippi or Motown.

The NBUF, independent institutions and Political Parties should educated the Black masses on "self-reliance" and organize "People's Depots" (by collecting quantities of food, clothing, medicines, collective housing lists, home equipment, etc.) in each Black district for delivery to local families struck by calamity (fire, robbery, death, etc.) and to Black communities hit by disasters (hurricanes, tornadoes, riots, quarantines, etc.).

Tactics for the Provisional Government are: create frontier communities in the Black Belt South (or urban districts) and solicit support of these communities by popularizing the concept of "Malcolm X Trails" and "Harriet Tubman Trails."

The Black Army can contribute by taking the main responsibility for delivery or infiltration of personnel and equipment into Black areas hit by riots and quarantines.

The Black Vanguard can contribute by setting a priority on "self-reliance," then harnessing the full weight of the Black independence movement, together with domestic alliances, to bring successes in the transition to this stage.

Creating Centers of Dual or Contending Governmental Powers

Government derives its authority from the will and consent of the people, meaning the people themselves decide what will be. This is the basis of all true governments. At present, every major aspect of life in the Black community is decided and controlled by outside forces. To roll back this situation, we must begin taking control over every facet of our lives. A proper step in this direction is the creation of dual centers of power and contending governmental powers that derive their authority from the will and consent of Black people.

SOME SOLUTIONS: OR THINGS TO DO

This is the first of a brief series in response to Sister Althea's request for "some solutions—or things to do for those not yet ready for guerrilla activities." First, it should be clearly understood that it is the masses of Black people—and them alone, who will ultimately provide the solution to Black people's problems. The Black masses are fully qualified to define their own solution, to organize themselves, and to liberate themselves—and they will do so. But it is also the duty of revolutionary forces to:

"…go to the masses and learn from them, synthesize their experience into better, articulated principles and methods, then do propaganda among the masses, and call upon them to put these principles and methods into practice so as to solve their problems and help them achieve liberation and happiness."

—Mao Tse Tung, Get Organized!

This paper is a small attempt in that direction. The solution to Black people's problems lies in people's war for national liberation. There is no way around this fact. But a people's war is a process of development, stage by stage, until a whole people take part in it, and then they almost always win their freedom. At each stage of the struggle, there are indeed many things that people can do that are not necessarily guerrilla activities in themselves. But it must be firmly kept in mind that the ultimate purpose of all these activities is to contribute to the general mass movement toward people's war. As the old Afrikan proverb says: "Small creeks make a river." The many non-guerrilla activities of the people act as small creeks; the resulting river is people's war.

WHAT TO DO

The first thing we should do is to define ourselves concretely, then to define our objectives concretely, and we should also define our enemy (and friends) concretely. Then we should lay out a general strategy (plan) to obtain our objectives. Within that strategy we should lay out the tactics (things to do) to accomplish our strategic goal —then we should do it. This means that our tactics (things to do) are determined by our strategy. Our strategy is determined by our objectives and by the actual conditions, time, place and circumstances we are operating under. The process boils down to a matter of analyzing our conditions correctly, defining our situation concretely, drawing up our plans (strategy) accordingly, then determining the "flexible application of the plans" (tactics) to achieve our objectives, And these objectives must be defined concretely:

"Always bear in mind that the people are not fighting for ideas, for the things in anyone's head. They are fighting to win material benefits, to live better and in peace, to see their lives go forward, to guarantee the future for their children…"

— Amilcar Cabral

Concrete definitions mean we define things in tangible, material terms—something you can see, feel, and touch: matter, mass that takes up space and has weight, numbers, percentages, and quantities that can be counted or measured—and not just in terms of philosophical concepts.

In laying out our strategies and tactics, we must always remember that the main issue is, and always has been, CONTROL. We are controlled; our enemy is the controller. The exact way we are controlled has been defined in many ways—as slavery, as apartheid, caste, segregation, discrimination, racism, class, colonialism, neo-colonialism and ultimately as imperialism.

But the main issue remains that we are controlled. That control, no matter what form it takes, must be resolutely broken—and we must control our own lives before we can ever call ourselves "free." Our strategy must be designed to resolve this main issue of control to our satisfaction and on our own terms.

So, before we can talk about tactics (things to do), it is necessary to backtrack somewhat and make a brief analysis of our situation, make some concrete definitions, draw up a general strategy—and then talk about tactics in relation to that strategy. In that way the tactics (things to do) won't seem suspended in mid-air or unconnected to the real world.

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF OUR SITUATION

In the last 30 years we have seen the steadily rising currents of Third World national liberation movements and socialist revolutions throughout the world. We have witnessed one Third World nation after another break free of imperialism and regain control over its own life and destiny. Imperialism is the international system of colonizing and neo-colonizing nations; it is capitalism operating on the international level. Colonized nations are controlled directly by foreigners inside the nation; neo-colonized nations are controlled indirectly by foreigners through the nation's own Uncle Tom's, puppets and agents. To put it simply, imperialism is international capitalism's system of controlling nations in order to exploit them. This is the age of declining imperialism, declining colonialism/neo-colonialism—and the rise of Third World liberation and socialist revolution.

Puerto Ricans and Asian-Americans—and the progressive elements of the oppressed White classes.

To get concrete support we must give concrete and resolute support to the domestic Third World independence, national liberation and human rights struggles and to the progressive and revolutionary movements among White oppressed classes.
Black Political Parties should lay out the political foundations of Black independence to other domestic oppressed groups. Many are under the impression that Black independence is a rejection of them or that it is an apolitical, chauvinistic Black separatist move or they simply see it as a threat to them. These misconceptions must be thoroughly dispelled and it must be made clear that Black independence is an "affirmation of ourselves" and a rejection of no other nationality. We stand wholeheartedly for the independence of all other domestic oppressed nations, against oppression of any nationality, for the liberation of all oppressed classes and for the waging of world revolution until all people everywhere are free. In particular, we are for the free voluntary association of nations—and not for the domination of some nations by others, as is the present situation in the U.S. That is true self-determination that we seek; it is grounded in basic scientific socialist principles and is a threat to no one except the system of U.S. imperialism and those who wish to dominate others. These concepts must be thoroughly spread throughout other domestic oppressed forces.

Tactics for the NBUF, Political Parties, Mass Organizations and Provisional Government are: form working alliances, coalitions, united fronts and combined campaigns with other domestic oppressed forces on all progressive and revolutionary issues; wage mass demonstrations, strikes and participate in other actions in solidarity with common goals.

The Black Army and Vanguard should form secret communication and links with similar elements of other domestic oppressed forces to coordinate methods of reciprocal support and the formation of combined political and military campaigns.

Fusing Independent Institutions into a National Black Support System

Any serious struggle for Black independence requires that there be a material support base for that struggle. Although domestic and international support is necessary, desired, to be vigorously pursued, and most likely forthcoming—still, the best policy is to depend primarily upon "self-reliance" and one's own people. Our people must be our mountains, otherwise our struggle for "independence" is seriously compromised from the beginning. One method for building self-reliance is to fuse

one voice and that will focus the entire force of the movement on the main link at each stage of the struggle. One reason Afrikan and other anti-imperialist countries don't give greater support to the Black movement in the U.S. is because no one organization exists that truly speaks for the majority of the Black masses. The creation of a Front would go a long way in solving this problem.

Creating a National Black United Front

A National Black United Front is needed to build the Black mass movement for independence. It is necessary to combine the various and sundry Political and Mass Organizations under one Front that will build and represent the mass movement with one voice and that will focus the entire force of the movement on the main link at each stage of the struggle. One reason Afrikan and other anti-imperialist countries don't give greater support to the Black movement in the U.S. is because no one organization exists that truly speaks for the majority of the Black masses. The creation of a Front would go a long way in solving this problem.

The fundamental tactic for creating a National Black United Front is to call a nationwide conference where every spectrum of the Black independence movement is invited, i.e., Political Parties, grass-roots organizations, Provisional Governments, trade unions, workers, women, youth, students, welfare recipients, unemployed, professionals, aged, prisoner's groups, veterans, religious, etc.

Schedule brief speakers, discussions and workshops to arrive at a conference-wide agreement on what Blacks must do to gain independence. Put the agreement into a formal plan. Create the necessary organizational structure and divisions of labor to carry it out. Assign responsibility for each part to various organizations and representatives present. Then start carrying out the plan.

Tactics for Political formations, Mass Organizations and representatives of the Black Army and Vanguard are: support and attend such a conference and keep the mainstream on a revolutionary course throughout the conference and the existence of the Front; work toward the eventual acceptance of armed struggle as the primary strategy for Black independence.

Winning Domestic Support for Black Independence

The fundamental tactic for winning domestic support for Black independence is to mount an intensive campaign to inform, educate and actively seek the support of other domestic nations and nationalities: the Native Americans, Chicano/Mexicanos,

"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got theirs straight, then you know how you can get yours straight."

—Malcolm X: Malcolm X Speaks

We study history, using the historical materialist method, politics, war, dialectics and current events in order to understand the trends of development in society, to discern those trends that are on the rise or coming into being, those trends that are dying or decaying. This enables us to apply this knowledge to change our concrete conditions for the better. So, if this is the age of declining imperialism and the rise of Third World liberation and socialist revolution, then we Blacks in the U.S. had better put our struggle in that context and get in step with the rest of the progressive new world that is coming if we want to solve our problems.

DEFINING OURSELVES CONCRETELY

We get in step with the rising currents of Third World national liberation by first defining ourselves concretely as a BLACK NATION, a domestic, oppressed Black/Afrikan nation that is neo-colonialized by U.S. imperialism. That, in itself, immediately puts our struggle for freedom in the world context. It makes us part of the great majority of the rest of the world—the Third World nations of Afrika, Latin America and Asia. It opens the door for us to receive material and political support from progressive Third World nations, socialist nations, other independent nations, the O.A.U., the U.N., national liberation movements and socialist movements.

To continue being defined as a "minority" in U.S. society is to shut the door to this outside aid from our international brothers and comrades. As a "minority," their assistance would be looked upon as "interfering in the internal affairs of another nation"—the U.S. nation. The term "minority" is used to perpetuate the image of us as "minors," whereas our self-definition of Black Nation defines us as adults in world society. Adults see themselves as equal to others in society and demand to be treated accordingly—or else. Minors permit certain restrictions on their freedom because they feel adults know and will do what is best for them. An adult walking around in society wearing diapers is a fair representation of Black people in the U.S.—and how we look to the rest of the world. We don't even know who we are.

ARE WE A BLACK NATION?

To concretely answer this question, it is necessary to examine the origin of nations and how they arise.

"The emergence of nations is an agonizing revolutionary process, which of necessity is born of human political and economic evolution—and erupts, suddenly, upon the face of history. This national emergence is, in turn, the result of a long process of racial and ethnic fusions, psychological and cultural molding, and transformation in the political and economic relations of humanity."

— Julio Rosado: "Grito de Lares: Definition of a Nation"

The above is particularly true of oppressed nations. And, like any other process of development, nations are conceived, given birth, develop and live. They can also decay or change into other forms—including their opposites. But nations do not spring from, nor develop in, a vacuum. Oppressed nations are formed in response to some form of widespread oppression—you might call it "a national oppression." This is a widespread, usually long-term, oppression of a particular people until, although they may be dissimilar in the beginning, the intense general oppression becomes the dominant factor in shaping their similarity and it literally fuses them together into one people—a unique people. Thus a nation is born irrespective of the will of men, regardless of whether it is conscious of itself or not, and notwithstanding whether it has the power to define itself as a nation at the time and make it stick.

"Afrikans forcibly kidnapped and brought to the shores of North America came from distinct tribes with varying customs and tribal traditions, as well as different continental regions of Afrika. The real fusions of these Afrikan distinctions into one people or historical personality occurred in North America under the harsh racist conditions of American colonial and post-colonial chattel slavery. Today's descendents of these "fused" Afrikans are a unique people."

— Richard Dhoruba Moore, BLA: The Connection

The actual birth of the domestic Black Nation is pinpointed more closely in the following document:

"...Thus, law and custom in North America by 1660 had forced the emergence of a new Afrikan nation here. That nation was composed of Afrikans from many different nations and tribes in Afrika, with white genes injected by the slavemasters, who almost invariably left their children with the Afrikan mothers and Afrikan group, and with Indian genes. Colonial laws and practices of oppression by whites facilitated the emergence of a New Afrikan nation in the English colonies one hundred years before the U.S. Declaration of Independence....It was a nation cemented by the essentially homogeneous Afrikan cultural background and the essentially similar interaction of all

The main form of fighting at this stage is that of "retaliation" for injustices committed against the Black community. Next comes the development of a mobile capacity to strike distant targets, then combinations (serial or simultaneous strikes at separate targets) and campaigns: a sustained series of strikes with limited objectives and duration. After that, the variations are countless, depending on the rate of success or defeat, the support of the people and the growth or decay of the army.

The Black Army is a People's Army and building it is a two-way process. As the Black Army builds its strength, the people must build their own local military formations and self-defense forces (with Black Army help, if needed). Local self-defense committees are necessary to organize the community for section-by-section, block-by-block defense and to form secret self-defense teams, community patrols, rifle clubs and communication and logistic networks. Rural areas, especially the Black Belt South, must also develop people's militia for self-defense and clandestine guerrilla units in similar fashion to complement the urban districts.

If a conventional army moves on its "stomach," then a People's Army moves on its infrastructure (i.e., its underground support network of personnel, armaments, safe houses, finance, communication and intelligence, and transportation and logistics) which, in turn, requires concrete support from the people. The most effective tactic for building the Black Army is to join it or to create one's own guerrilla unit and fight in line with the general strategy of the Black Army. Additional tactics involve concretely supporting the maintenance of the Army's infrastructure or becoming involved in community self-defense.

Tactics for Political Parties, United Fronts, Provisional Governments and Mass Organizations (urban and rural communes, rifle clubs, trade unions, health clinics, veteran's organizations, etc.) are: provide consistent concrete support to the Black Army and armed struggle (i.e., funnel personnel, equipment, finance and information to it); educate and organize the community to do the same; and support its captive P.O.W.'s,

Tacties for the Black Vanguard in this stage are to set priority on building the Army and to liberate its experienced P.O.W.'s.

Creating a National Black United Front

A National Black United Front is needed to build the Black mass movement for independence. It is necessary to combine the various and sundry Political and Mass Organizations under one Front that will build and represent the mass movement with

Black Mass Organizations should set up socialist-based independent institutions in the areas of: independent schools, child care centers, food cooperatives, cooperative houses and farms, trade unions, health clinics, taxi services, cooperative industries, or wherever else there exists a common need. This serves to begin breaking the colonizer's grip on every facet of our lives. These institutions alone cannot serve the needs of all Black people in the early stages. The other side of the coin involves taking over the colonizer's institutions already existing in our community, e.g., public schools, housing, hospitals, industries, businesses, etc., and putting the workers and the people who use these institutions in control of them.

The basic tactic for taking over an existing institution is to agitate, educate and organize those who inhabit and/or patronize the institutions (tenants, workers, students, etc.) to occupy it and take it over or strike and boycott it to take it over.

Tactics for the Black Army are to defend the people and their institutions and help to organize them into self-defense forces so they can defend themselves from both the colonizer and the Black capitalist seeking to replace the colonizer. The Black Army must also educate the people that institutions taken over may still change hands between them and the colonizer many times and that the best defense for an institution (or district) is the building of a strong, mobile Black Army that is constantly on the offensive so as to relieve pressure on the people's static defense of their institutions (or districts).

Basic tactics for building independent Black political formations, i.e., Political Parties, United Fronts, Provisional Governments, Vanguard and Army, is unchanged. As always, it is to wholeheartedly serve the needs of the people and root one's main base of economic, political and mass support in the Black working classes.

Building the Black Army and Military Formations

"The Black … Army defines itself as …. a political-military organization whose primary objective is to fight for the independence and self-determination of Afrikan people in the United States."
— Dhoruba Moore: Case of Dhoruba Moore and Repression of the Black Movement

The fundamental tactic for building a Black Army is the initial formation of a small, secret, hardcore nucleus of the most politically advanced, disciplined and dedicated comrades, having no other commitment except to fight the enemy, build the army and "Win or Die." Around this core is built the Black Army. Such an Army is too small, at first, to defend all Black people. Its initial duty is to fight the enemy and set correct examples how Black people can defend themselves.

Afrikan peoples here with an essentially homogeneous oppression."
— Imari Obadele I, RNA: Memorandum of Law

So, we are indeed a Black Nation and have been so for 319 years. It is time to raise the RED, BLACK and GREEN flag of Black Liberation and strike for our national liberation and for real freedom.

DEFINING OUR OBJECTIVES CONCRETELY

We strike for real freedom by first defining that freedom concretely. We do that by defining our objectives as independence, land, autonomous (self-governing) districts and socialist revolution.

Independence as an Objective

"A better word to use than separation is independence. This word separation is misused. The thirteen colonies separated from England but they called it the Declaration of Independence; they don't call it the Declaration of Separation…. When you're independent of someone, you can separate from them. If you can't separate from them, it means you're not independent of them."
— Malcolm X

The historical route to freedom by any people suffering long-term oppression by a government and people is to break the bonds with that government and set up whatever new foundation is "most likely to effect their safety and happiness." This is universal law, natural law and just law, recognized by people all over the world since time immemorial. Whenever an oppressed people's national consciousness and political consciousness reaches the stage where they collectively become aware of themselves as equal to others in society, yet are not treated equally, the usual response is to break allegiance with that oppressive government by defining themselves as a new nation, declaring their independence and fighting a people's war to win that independence. For real freedom, for real self- determination, we must first gain a complete break from this present government, so that we can determine of our own free will which future arrangement is "most likely to effect our safety and happiness." A break from this present government necessitates that our first objective be concretely defined as independence.

Land as an Objective

Land is a concrete definition of freedom and independence. And land means land. Land is territory, turf, earth, ground; it's the stuff that states, provinces, regions,

boroughs and districts are made of. Many Whites (and Blacks) profess ignorance of Black demands for land, claiming that Blacks do not predominate or form a clear majority in any particular state in the U.S. That is an attempt to skirt the main issue. Blacks were forcefully brought to the Black Belt South where we once predominated. We were forcefully dispersed and scattered from the Black Belt by terror, acute premeditated poverty, the Klan, starvation and genocidal governmental campaigns similar to those that almost dispatched the Native American from this entire continent.

Revolutions are not dinner parties, or any other such neat and tidy affair. As Mao said, "A revolution is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one class overthrows another." By similar analogy, national liberation is an insurrection, an act of violence by which one nation breaks free of another. National liberation/Black Liberation of an oppressed nation is in itself a revolutionary struggle. And if revolution is anything, it is the expropriation of the wealth and land of the ruling class and government and redistributing it among the masses of oppressed peoples and oppressed nationalities.

It is estimated that 70% of the land in the U.S. lies in the hands of the ruling class and government. Blacks are completely within their/our rights, with Native American consent, to claim the Black Belt South as our domestic national homeland—and to take the land from the ruling class and government.

Although Blacks do not predominate throughout the entire Black Belt, there are still distinct regions where Blacks do predominate: the Black Belt delta region running along the Mississippi River from the state of Mississippi down through Louisiana, other vast regions in Alabama, South Carolina, the Sea Island region in Georgia. Also Black people make up most of the population of large districts of various urban cities: Bedford-Stuyvesant in Brooklyn, Harlem in Manhattan, South Philadelphia, Roxbury in Boston, Central Ward in Newark, Southside in Chicago, Washington, D.C., Detroit, 5th and 3rd Wards in Houston, Watts in Los Angeles, and other Black urban districts.

Land means defining freedom in terms of concrete space and concrete numbers. It means a Black Independent Nation-State defined in terms of concrete space: the Black Belt region in the South, for instance. It also means autonomous (self governing) districts defined in terms of concrete numbers: the Black urban districts in the cities, for instance.

independence. A number of "political" Blacks still labor under the illusion that independence as a goal is apolitical, bourgeoise, reactionary or even "racist." This is incorrect and must be thoroughly rooted out at the ideological level. Scientific socialism fundamentally and consistently upholds the right of oppressed nations to self-determination, including the right to secede, and these concepts must be thoroughly spread throughout the Black Nation.

Black United Fronts should engage in a national campaign to unify around the position of independence. Agitation and education should focus on the oppressive nature of Black life, stemming primarily from the fact that we do not control the economic, political and social aspects of our communities.

Black Mass Organizations can win Blacks to independence through practicing independence and socialist-based polities in their organizations and spreading these concepts through the community. A viable network of independent institutions organized on socialist principles and serving the concrete needs of the people is, in itself, one of the best means of spreading independence concepts—and a living example of it.

The Black Provisional Government can spread independence ideas by agitating for the secession of the Black urban districts from City Hall control with similar efforts in Black counties in the Black Belt South. It also educates Blacks on the necessity to switch their allegiance to independence politics.

The Black Army can contribute by organizing and fighting under an "Independence and Socialism" banner and by carrying out armed propaganda to that effect. Known Black Army prisoners should declare themselves P.O.W.'s captured in the struggle for Black independence.

The Black Vanguard can contribute by setting priority in the initial stage on winning Blacks to independence and harnessing the full weight of the Black movement toward attaining this goal.

Building Black Independent Institutions and Political Formations

The basic tactic for building Black independent institutions is to join one or support one already existing or to find other people with similar needs and come together to organize your own. Another tactic is to take over the colonizer's institution already existing in the community.

PART IV

TACTICS: IMPLEMENTING THE 10-POINT STRATEGY

The essence of the strategy is to set the masses of Black people in motion toward people's war for independence, land, autonomous districts and socialist revolution. Tactics tell us what to do or how to put the strategy into action. Primarily, these tactics are the flexible application of four basic principles: Agitate, Educate, Organize and Fight! They are laid out in reference to organizations: Political, Military, Mass, Provisional Government and Vanguard Organizations. By defining tactics for organizations, that also defines what an individual can do as a member of a particular organization or in solidarity with it.

Winning Blacks to Independence

To win Blacks to independence, it is first necessary that they know and understand the independence concept. Malcolm X long ago explained this concept in simple terms. In effect, he said that our schools do not work for us, not because they aren't "integrated," but because we don't control them. They are labeled "segregated," not because they are all Black, but because we don't control them. White schools are all White, yet they are not labeled "segregated" because Whites control their own schools —and ours, too. He applied the same reasoning to why our communities are Black ghetto colonies, not because they are all Black, but because we don't control the economic, political and social aspects of them. We don't control our communities. The businesses are controlled by outside finances, housing is controlled by outside landlords, politics, police, health and social services …. every major institution is controlled by outside administrations. That makes us a colonized people. The first concern of a colonized people is independence.

The fundamental tactic for winning Blacks to independence is waging a widespread agitation and education campaign throughout the Black Nation by talking up, discussing, debating and using every available technique to clarify and spread independence concepts, ideas and slogans that persuade Blacks to independence. Police murder and brutality, high unemployment, drugs, high crime, high prices, bad housing, bad schools, prisons, poor medical care, corrupt politicians, Uncle Tom leaders, etc.—all are prime issues to agitate around and spread the concept of Black independence and control of our own affairs as a concrete solution.

Tactics for Black Political Parties include laying out the ideological foundations of Black independence as the first step in formulating political lines to win Blacks to

Autonomous Districts as an Objective

Autonomous (self-governing) districts means defining freedom in terms of concrete numbers (and space). It means that whenever a concrete number of Blacks—say, two hundred thousand (200,000) or more—congregate in a particular district, they then automatically have the right to autonomous self-government of that district if they so choose. Autonomous self-government means having complete control of one's economic, political, social and cultural life throughout the district with the unrestricted right to form economic, political, social and cultural relationships, links, agreements, treaties and federations with whatever other nations or peoples that one sees fit. This would provide a means of political autonomy/independence to the large Black urban districts of Harlem, Bed-Sty, Watts, etc., and to vast Black regions elsewhere, too. Obviously, this would also provide autonomy/independence to large numbers of Native Americans, Chicano-Mexicanos, Puerto Ricans, Asian-Americans, and any other oppressed nationality/class in whatever territories they occupy, if they so choose. Control, space, numbers and material basis are concrete definitions of freedom; without them, "freedom" only means faith, hopes and maybe's.

Socialist Revolution as an Objective

"We have to keep in mind at all times that we are not fighting for integration, nor are we fighting for separation. We are fighting for recognition as human beings. We are fighting for the right to live as free human beings in this society. In fact, we are actually fighting for rights that are even greater than civil rights and that is human rights."

— Malcolm X

We should also define our freedom concretely as socialist revolution so as to equally stress the necessity for freedom from capitalism and class oppression. Our main form of oppression is national oppression—that is, across the board oppression of all people of Afrikan descent in amerika, the oppression of our Black Nation. Our main weapon for combatting this national oppression is our national liberation struggle for Independence, Land, Autonomous Districts (and Pan-Afrikanism to be discussed later). But national liberation alone won't solve all our problems. There is a dual, even multiple, nature to our problems. As long as U.S. imperialism exists, it must have nations to dominate and exploit. No independent nation will be safe, especially a weak, new independent Black Nation.

The seeds of imperialism are rooted in capitalism, an economic system based upon private ownership of the means of production and distribution, which are operated for profits. Capitalism fosters a class society. It locks the real power in the hands of

an elite ruling class, thereby enabling them to exploit the working class, oppressed nationalities and other oppressed classes. Class, stated simply, is determined by the type of work (or non-work) one does for a living. Even when U.S. imperialism is destroyed, unless capitalism and class oppression are uprooted in each nation, imperialism will eventually resurface. Some other capitalist nation would simply take the place of U.S. imperialism and continue business as usual. Or, there are those within our own nation who would take the place of our foreign oppressors and continue as usual. Oppression of whatever form is still oppression and we want no part of it.

The Black Nation is oppressed on the basis of both nationality and class. To gain true liberation, we must wage a dual or two-front struggle simultaneously. One is a national liberation struggle to free us from U.S. imperialism; the second is a class struggle to free us from capitalism and all its manifestations, internally and externally. class struggle, or socialist revolution is the main weapon for combatting capitalism. Socialist revolution, as a concrete definition of our freedom, covers the other front in our struggle: freedom from capitalism and class oppression.

"All nations will arrive at socialism, that in inevitable, but all will do so in not exactly the same way, each will contribute something of its own to some form of democracy, to some variety of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to the varying rate of socialist transformation in the different aspects of social life."

—V.I. Lenin: A Caricature of Marxism

The U.S. will arrive at socialism, the Black Nation, too, but not necessarily in exactly the same way. Any serious analysis of socialism's future in amerika must also take into consideration its opposing tendency: fascism. The Black Nation may arrive at socialism after breaking free and independent of a weakened U.S. imperialism—or at the climax of a multi-nationalist socialist revolution that destroys U.S. imperialism and results in self-determination for the Black Nation—or perhaps by some route between the two. The path taken by the Black Nation depends upon several conditions, one being the attitudes and actions of oppressed Whites toward socialist revolution and self-determination for oppressed domestic nations during further U.S. declines.

The common point for revolutionary unity between Blacks and other domestic oppressed nations revolves around joining in common struggle against U.S. imperialism for national liberation and self-determination for all oppressed nations. The common point for revolutionary unity between Blacks and oppressed Whites revolves around joining in common struggle against U.S. imperialism for socialist state policy of the Black working classes.

The National Black Liberation Front (NBLF) is a later fusion of the above organizations with the Armed Front to pursue mass armed struggle as the primary strategy for Black independence.

4. National Black United Front (NBUF).
5. Black Vanguard Organization.
6. Black Provisional Government.
7. A Black Political Party is necessary to inject the science of politics into the mass struggle. Its main duty is to educate and organize the masses around political objectives. Primarily it uses legal means and is a public organization, but does not refrain from the use of extra-legal means when necessary, and is responsible for implementing the political line.

Black Mass organizations are the masses organized. These are the various grass-root organizations that the people themselves organize to deal with their day-to-day needs and oppressions, i.e., community organizations, labor unions, women's, youth and student organizations, tenant organizations, food cooperatives, independent schools, urban and rural communes, health clinics, legal clinics, professional organizations, child care centers, block associations, religious organizations, etc. These organizations are the foundation of the mass movement and the implementation of the mass line.

The Black Army is a People's Army whose primary duty is to defend Black people, fight the enemy and educate and organize the people militarily. It is an underground organization that primarily uses extra-legal means and implements the military line.

A National Black United Front (NBUF) is necessary to combine the various political and mass organizations under one national banner. Its main duty is to build and represent the mass movement with one voice and to focus the force of this mass movement on the main link at each stage of the struggle. Primarily the NBUF is an above-ground organization, mostly uses legal means and implements the mass lines.

A Black Vanguard Organization acts as the Command Center for the Black movement. It is a secret politico-military organization of professional revolutionaries which merges the political, military and mass leadership into a single nucleus. Its main duty is to function as the hidden nerve center of the Black movement, coordinating the struggle and giving political and military direction to it. It uses extra-legal means and is responsible for formulating political, military and mass policies and directives.

The Black Provisional Government represents the New Afrikan People's Government in embryo. Its main duty is to serve as the legitimate government of the Black masses, in particular, those switching allegiance from U.S. imperialism to the Black independence movement. It is also responsible for creating contending centers of governmental powers in the contested regions and districts. Primarily it is an above-ground organization, uses legal means and is responsible for implementing the

revolution concurrent with self-determination for domestic oppressed nations and all oppressed nations. The fundamental issue of a principled Black/White alliance rests upon whether oppressed Whites concretely support self-determination for the Black Nation or not.

A Black (and/or Third World) struggle for self-determination can itself set off a struggle for socialist revolution in amerika, and is one reason why it is in itself a revolutionary struggle. It is almost certain that the U.S. government will turn increasingly toward "open" fascism in attempting to stem the tide of its decline. It has always used naked terror, the threat of race war and genocide in attempting to keep Blacks and other Third World nations in line in this country.

It can be counted on to accelerate these same measures in attempting to stem the Black Nation's move toward independence and self-determination. There is no guarantee that oppressed Whites will not turn fascist along with the U.S. government. It seems unnecessary to state that Blacks have never wanted a race war in this country, have always struggled to avoid it, and will continue as long as possible to do so. But at the same time, it seems necessary to make clear that Blacks are no longer intimidated by the spectre of race war either. World conditions are not the same today as they were even a mere 40 years ago. No longer can an attempt be made to exterminate Blacks or any other oppressed nation in this country without the outside world so much as raising a whimper, not even considering Black, Third World and progressive peoples' reaction inside this country. Today, a race war in the U.S. will indeed touch off a war (with political and racial overtones) around the world—and nobody or very few will be left. In particular, no racist will be left, and probably very few capitalists either.

The main task of conscious Blacks, at present, is to unite the Black Nation around the goal of self-determination and independence. The duty of conscious Whites is to break out of their complacency and seriously begin the task of educating the masses of oppressed Whites that the real solution to U.S. decline lies in socialist revolution with self-determination for domestic oppressed nations. Before there can be any Black/White unity, there must first be some Black unity. Once Black unity around independence is attained (and it will be), then the Black Independence Movement can look around for unity with other Third World movements on self-determination, and with progressive Whites around self-determination for all oppressed nations and socialist revolution in the U.S.

PART II

DEFINING THE ENEMY CONCRETELY

"Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? This is a question of the first importance in the revolution. The basic reason why all previous revolutionary struggles in China achieved so little was their failure to unite with real friends in order to attack real enemies... To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of various classes in Chinese society and their respective attitudes toward revolution."

— Mao Tse Tung: Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society

It is essential that the question of enemies and friends be answered concretely and correctly, if our struggle is to succeed. We are an oppressed nation, a neo-colonized domestic Black Nation, to be specific. Our main duty is to break the enemy's control of our own lives and destiny. Imperialism is the international system of colonizing nations, both foreign and domestic.

"To say that imperialism is 'class oppression manifesting itself on a national level' is nothing but saying that entire nations become classes."

— Atiba: Notes from an Afrikan P.O.W. Journal

In other words, imperialism turns whole nations into an oppressed class. Our main enemy is the system of imperialism/capitalism that has us colonized. The head of imperialism/colonialism/capitalism is the U.S.A., represented by the U.S. government. Then our main enemy is the U.S. government. But governments and systems are created and maintained by people, in particular, a certain class of people. The system of imperialism/colonialism/capitalism and the U.S. government are all maintained by the U.S. ruling class—the super-rich. To be more precise, our main enemy is the system of imperialism, colonialism, capitalism and the U.S. government, all of which are represented in the flesh by the U.S. ruling class: the super-rich and all those who aid and abet this ruling class in maintaining dominance over our nation and throughout the world. That is our main enemy, and primarily, this enemy is an external enemy. Simply knowing our enemy is not enough. We learn our enemies in order to attack them.

The Black Nation is also made up of various classes. It is necessary to understand class divisions within the Black Nation so we can determine which class of Blacks are enemies and which are friends.

There is no true bourgeoisie (ruling) class of Blacks, but there is a "national" Black

PART III

SOME SOLUTIONS OR THINGS TO DO

"It is sufficient to estimate the enemy's situation correctly and to concentrate your strength to capture him. There is no more to it than this. He who lacks foresight and underestimates his enemy will surely be captured by him."

—Sun Tzu: The Art of War

The following 10-point strategy is basically the core of a 1977 position paper presented by the African Peoples Socialist Party. I've modified it and fused it with selected political objectives of the Republic African Peoples Party, various black nationalists, and the Black Liberation Army to arrive at the following:

10-Point strategy

1. Win Blacks to independence.
2. Build Black independent institutions and political formations.
4. Create a National Black United Front.
5. Win domestic support for Black independence.
6. Fuse independent institutions into a national Black support system.
7. Create centers of dual or contending governmental powers.
8. Win international support for Black independence.
9. Move the Black masses towards a people's war for independence and socialism.
10. Fight to win!

Organizations

"If we must have justice, we must be strong; if we must be strong, we must come together; if we must come together, we can only do so through the system of organization…. Let us not waste time in breathless appeals to the strong while we are weak, but lend our time, energy and effort to the accumulation of strength among ourselves by which we will voluntarily attract the strength of others."

— Marcus Garvey: "Philosophy and Opinions"

The seven basic organizations, or their equivalents, necessary to implement the 10-point strategy are:

1. Black Political Party.
2. Black Mass Organizations.
3. Black Army.

Inside the Black Nation, our friends are the Black working class, the semi-proletariat and the farmers/farm-workers—and those Black petit-bourgeoisie, "lumpen," and "national" bourgeoisie who side with the struggle for Black self-determination, national liberation and socialist revolution. Again, knowing is not enough, we learn our real friends in order to unite with them to attack our real enemies.

bourgeoisie. Many act as the representatives, spokepersons, and agents of the U.S. ruling class (the true bourgeoisie) in the Black colony. Malcolm X referred to them as "house niggers," "Uncle Toms" and "Negro" leaders against the Black revolution. He identified them as the "Big Six," the heads of the six biggest civil rights organizations, all of which are financed, controlled and directed by super-rich Whites in the background with Black faces up front. Today some of them have been advanced to "token" representation on the Boards of Directors of the giant ruling class corporations of General Motors, Monsanto Chemicals, the Ford Foundation and other ruling class industries, organizations, federal appointments and fronts as rewards for keeping the Black masses ignorant and passive while U.S. imperialism props up racist Southern Africa, rapes Northern Afrika and the Mid-East for oil, plunders the entire Third World and implements massive genocidal poverty, police murder, drugs, behavior and birth control campaigns on domestic Blacks. Others head up government-financed "nationalistic" organizations, some even going so far as to wrap themselves in the "patriotic" red, white and blue flag of capitalism in return for a free hand to push massive amounts of CIA heroin in the Black colony. All of these traitorous Black "bourgeoisie" are the main internal enemies of the Black colony. Those "national" bourgeoisie Blacks who aid Black self-determination and socialist revolution are friends.

The Black petit-bourgeoisie (middle) class is mostly made up of Black professionals. These are the doctors, lawyers, professors, intellectuals, politicians, judges, business persons, office workers, shopkeepers, scientists, super-star athletes, entertainers, etc., who work mainly with their heads or talents to make a living. Those petit-beurgeoisie Blacks who aid the enemy—athletes/entertainers going to South Africa, Uncle Toms supporting the White-controlled Rhodesian government, Black capitalists, paternalistic integrationists, "turn-the-cheek" advocators of non-violence—are enemies. Those who side with the oppressed Black masses are friends.

The majority of Blacks are working class (proletariat). They represent the most powerful class for liberation and self-determination in the Black colony. Most are friends. Those aiding the enemy are enemies.

The Black semi-proletariat is a phenomena of the last half 20th Century amerika. They make up an increasing proportion of the Black Nation, especially in the large cities. They are a direct result of imperialism's strangle-hold on the Black colony's economics and other vital institutions, the technical displacement of masses of Black workers and imperialism's past ability to provide even its most exploited segment with minimal subsistence such as welfare, unemployment, social security, veteran benefits, poverty programs, etc., to keep the Black Nation totally dependent and just below the

flash point. As a result, there are now whole generations of Black youth growing up who have never held a job, nor were/are they able to find one. They can't be classified as workers because they have never worked (one or two part-time jobs in a lifetime doesn't make one a worker) and they come from households where the head of the house has never worked in the classical sense, although raising a family is work indeed. This semi-proletariat is young, has consciousness, is basically friendly and a potent force for national liberation and revolution if organized for such. Those who aid the enemy are enemies.

The other phenomena of the last half of the 20th Century in amerika is the flooding of the Black colony with heroin. Together with technological displacement of workers, heroin trafficking greatly accelerated the increase of the Black lumpen-proletariat (bottom) class in the urban centers. This Black "lumpen" represents the bottom half of the semi-proletariat and many have a predator consciousness. Some White amerikan "Marxists" use this class as a scapegoat to make all types of veiled racist remarks about the Black colony, blaming the victim instead of the real criminal. They also use it as a cover for denouncing all violence, including Black revolutionary violence, in a brazen attempt to defang, castrate and control the Black Liberation Movement. Predators are a valuable and necessary element in any violent confrontation with the enemy. The "lumpen" must be politically educated and made conscious of who the real enemy is—in other words, "WHO" to attack. They must (and can) be organized into a conscious force for Black Liberation, otherwise the enemy will organize them against the movement. Those "lumpen" who aid the enemy and prey upon Black and oppressed people are the enemy indeed. Those aiding and fighting for national liberation and socialist revolution are friends, indeed.

The Black farmers and farmworkers are becoming a vanishing breed/class in amerika due to automation of large farms. Masses of Black farmworkers are no longer needed. They were/are driven from the land through bankruptcy, back taxes, fraud, government and industrial land grabs and other similar schemes. Most wound up in the cities, but the flow is now reversing itself southward and westward. Black migratory farmworkers have mostly been substituted for by Chicano / Mexican / Puerto Ricans who did work that Blacks would not do, worked cheaper and were less likely to complain. The Chicano / Mexican / Puerto Rican farmworkers are now organizing themselves into a powerful farmworkers movement with strong revolutionary implications for the coming self-determination struggles. Black farmers/farm-workers are basically friends; all have a natural interest in struggling for land, in particular. Those who aid the liberation struggle are friends; those aiding the enemy are enemies. Again, simply knowing the enemy is not enough. We learn our enemies in order to attack them. We learn our friends in order to unite with them.

DEFINING OUR FRIENDS CONCRETELY

"The enemy of my enemy is my friend." —Old Afrikan proverb

We are an Afrikan people, a domestic neo-colonized Afrikan nation. All Afrikan people are our brothers and sisters. That does not necessarily mean all Afrikans are our friends and comrades, but it does mean we are one people. We are transplanted Afrikans who have been fused into a unique Afrikan nation by the harsh conditions of common long-term national oppression in amerika—the same way the continent of Afrika is internationally oppressed and Afrikans are oppressed throughout the world. Our liberation is intrinsically bound up in the liberation of Afrika, and we can never be truly free until all Afrika (and Afrikans) is free, independent and socialist, which is the essence of revolutionary Pan-Afrikanism. But the best contribution we can presently make to the liberation of Afrika and Pan-Afrikanism is to support it concretely while resolutely fighting for our own liberation right here in the belly of the main beast that we know well.

Our main enemy is imperialism, our main friends then are anti-imperialist—those who fight against U.S. imperial- ism and/or give concrete aid and support to our national liberation struggle or aid national liberation and socialist revolutionary struggles in general. Our main enemy is also capitalism, the U.S. government and the ruling class. Likewise, our friends are those who fight against capitalism, the U.S. government and the ruling class or give concrete aid and support to these struggles.

On the international level our friends are the progressive independent Afrikan, Third World and socialist nations, all the colonized and neo-colonized nations and national liberation movements, the socialist revolutionary movements and the whole of the international proletariat or world's working class struggle against the world's ruling class.

On the national level our friends are the other domestic oppressed nations, national minorities and national liberation movements, in particular, those waging armed struggle against U.S. imperialism: the Native Americans, the Puerto Ricans, the Chicano/Mexicanos, the Asian-Americans. Our friends are those oppressed White classes waging revolutionary struggles against U.S. imperialism, capitalism and colonialism, those who concretely support self-determination for all domestic oppressed nations—in particular, those who wage armed struggle. Our friends are all those: the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, nationalist, socialist, communist, anarchist and any others who fight imperialism/capitalism/colonialism and concretely support self-determination for oppressed nations.